2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND LAW

A Papago village operated with the minimum of formal authority and, to a great extent, it still does so. Each small and isolated group had very much the attitude of a family who arrange their affairs by mutual consent, showing the general tolerance of offenses which is necessary in those who must continue to live together. With the digging of wells which will allow large villages and the roads which encourage travel, this isolation of the village will cease, but it has been, in the past, a determining factor in social behavior. 626

The village which was, in any case, a group of relatives, looked up to its leader as to a father. His speeches of admonition in the council house were very like those given by the grandfather in the hut. As the Papago father never punished, so the leader guided in most instances by moral suasion. This would be impossible in a large and heterogeneous group, but the village was a small and constant group with common interests. [861]

When differences arise in such a group, there may be enduring feuds; there may be a system of avoidances which prevents feuds or, finally, a glossing over of disagreements and an effort to maintain an unbroken surface. The Papago practised the last method. With them, an open quarrel was the forbidden thing. "People do that only when they are drunk" and the speeches of admonition at the drinking ceremony expressly warn against it. But they had none of the ceremonial avoidances which smooth family relationships by formality. Instead of avoiding particular individuals, they avoided harsh words or open disagreement with anyone. This well established custom is one of the difficulties in modern self government, since the public argument approved by the Whites is shunned by the Papago and one who disagrees with the majority of the meeting is likely to stay away. "I was afraid they might not like what I said." The corollary to such reticence is a criticism outside the meeting and the Papago expedient is to continue with this until some compromise is reached mild enough for public statement. 626 578

Training in peaceableness begins in childhood. School fights are rare and the problem of the bully an unusual one. Various Papagos have explained to the writer the proper behavior as it should be taught to children: 865

"When people have done us harm, they should never know from the way we act what we feel about it. We should never

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In Spanish days, however, it was the individual who was punished and usually by whipping. It is hard to be positive that whipping is a foreign institution yet it seems likely since the Papago are chary of physical contact especially in public. This may seem surprising in a society where ten or more people could live and sleep in a one-room house, but one may conjecture that it is an avoidance generated by that very fact. They maneuver without touching one another where Europeans, who have more privacy, are continually doing so. They did not, anciently, slap or whip children. It is to be expected that a people with this attitude would object to corporal punishment, particularly when they have cultivated such a violent sensitiveness and openness to humiliation. The missionaries, on the contrary, whipped their neophytes as they would whip the children they considered them to be. That the Papago should have been willing to adopt this system is the surprising thing. We may lay it to the extreme prestige of these givers of wheat and horses, and also to the fact that the native selected to dispense whipping felt himself raised to the supernatural power of the priests. Certainly the institution of whipping grew, from the eight stripes delivered by the *alcalde* for drunkeness or absence from mass to a standardized penalty for all misdemeanors, sometimes including murder. Those which were mentioned as always whipped fall under the heading of sins in the Christian sense. A list of these offenses and their penalties follow:

Murder: The chief would have the murderer whipped and force him to make restitution in property.

Adultery: Both offenders whipped and the wife sent back to her husband.

Quarrels between spouses: Either a wife or a husband might complain of the other's laziness, cruelty or light conduct and have the offender whipped.

Disobedience of children: Parents might complain of laziness or light conduct, particularly in a daughter, or of her disobedience in not taking a husband. Some cases are reported where the chief felt that the parents had been in the wrong and had them whipped instead of the child.

Slander: All reports of misconduct were investigated and if, they proved untrue, those who had spread the rumor were whipped, whether male or female.

There follows a provision heard from only one informant and showing an interesting combination of the old and the new systems.

> If a father failed to have the puberty ceremony for his daughter at the proper time, he should be whipped. If he proved that he had not been told, the mother was punished instead. (26)

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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that define passage from one stage to another—the birth ceremony and the girl's puberty rite—are private occasions which do not serve as announcements but merely as insurance of the well-being of the individual and his family. The terms the Papago use show their indifference to time concepts: the tiny infant is called "just born"; "child," "boy," or "girl" are used from infancy to adolescence, and "girl youth" or "boy youth" between puberty and marriage. In other words, between early infancy and marriage the Papago recognize only two stages: before and after pubescence. However, there is no more radical change in behavior patterns at pubescence than at any other time.

This distinction illustrates very well the usual child development pattern of the Papago; training is informal and leisurely, attuned to the child's natural pace and accomplished with little conscious planning. The process is continuous, with few absolute landmarks; one phase blends into and overlaps those preceding and following it. Small wonder that the Papago use biological manifestations to mark the changes.

Since this study is written for readers who are accustomed to the white pattern of clear age groups and because such classification facilitates comparison with child development elsewhere, the 0–4, 5–10, and 11–18 age groups will be used here. We now turn to the first phase.

BEFORE THE BABY IS BORN

Papago children are more widely spaced than among some Indian tribes and white groups of similar economic status. There are a few families in which a child is born every year, but, judging from census records, in most families births occur from eighteen to thirty months apart.[1] Considering the death rate among Papago children, the average is near the lower end of this range. Most of the women seem to prefer not having a child every year because they feel that they cannot adequately care for so many children and will be likely to lose them. But, as noted in chapter iv, apparently most women take no contraceptive measures, and the taboo on intercourse for a month after childbirth no longer prevails.

Life goes on much as usual for the expectant mother, and there appears to be little illness in connection with pregnancy. No special considerations are shown her, and the pregnant woman performs all her usual tasks, lest she have a difficult birth. On the other hand, she is not segregated or given extra duties.

Some taboos are still in force for prospective parents. They must stay away from animals that make children sick, and they must not touch animal blood. The father avoids killing rattlesnakes and rabbits, but most men no longer re-

1. This statement is qualified by the unconcern with chronology noted above.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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854 relative. There is no consistent pattern for this, and he does not necessarily
866 sleep with the same person every night. Only in rare instances are the two sexes separated for sleeping until children are nine or ten years old.

869 In addition to learning motor skills and being weaned, which are common to children everywhere, the young Papago child is taught another important lesson; he must not play with or handle wild animals. Since the Papago believe that nearly all animals can cause disease and that some are especially dangerous to children (see chap. vi), as soon as a child begins to walk around the yard he must learn to keep away from wild animals. He is warned away from a gopher mound and is not allowed to handle rabbits shot for food. These warnings are immediately effective and have a powerful influence on the child. He is imbued with a great and lasting fear of animals and of the sickness they bring (see chap. xiv).

PATTERNS OF CHILD-TRAINING

861 General patterns of child-training among the Papago are based on the belief
855 that a little child should be happy and therefore he should be humored as often as possible. His development should suit his own pace, and he should not be forced or even strongly urged to follow the wishes of older persons.

The attitude of adults toward little children is permissive, and they are not rebuked for interfering with the work or conversation of their elders.[6]

Children are allowed to play with almost anything they please except animals. Teaching care of property is not a problem, for there are few things in the Papago home which the child can damage. Anything which the baby should not handle is put out of sight. If he does cry for some forbidden object, his mother will try to interest him in a substitute; if he wants a china dish, he is given an unbreakable pan. Should he persist in crying for the dish, the mother will express her displeasure verbally, "Oh, Juan, don't cry! Why do you do that?" and at the same time renew her efforts to distract his attention. If all efforts fail, she will give him the desired object and watch him carefully as he plays with it. When one mother was showing the writer a valued clay figurine used in treating illness, her two-year-old son howled for it. Finally, she gave it to him, but she held him on her lap, keeping her hands on or near the doll, and directing his attention elsewhere as soon as possible. A valued object in the home of a relative or friend would be treated in the same way.

861 In situations where the child must be denied, efforts are made to keep him

6. Underhill (*op. cit.*, p. 159) tells of an occasion when she was taking texts and was seriously inconvenienced by two children who romped through the room and drowned out the informant's words. When she asked the interpreter if the children could not be told to keep quiet, he replied, "I don't think so. They are his grandchildren."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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from realizing that he is being refused. His mother will hide candy and tell him that it is all gone. When he is being weaned, he is not told, "No, you can't nurse any more" but rather, "Look, see brother riding the horse!" or "Let's go see Grandma."

Other than diversion and mild deception, the only sanctions invoked are supernatural forces or some non-Papago enemy. The child is told that he must not play with animals because they will make him sick or they might be ghosts. A mother who was visiting the writer tried to divert her child's interest from a Yaqui dance mask with which he wished to play. When these attempts failed, she said in a tone of fear, "You must not touch it. It is a ghost!" The boy turned away from the mask at once and did not glance toward it again the whole evening. After a hard tumble, his mother told him if he did not stop crying the Japs would come and get him.[7] The child became quiet immediately. It is significant that, in using threats of the supernatural or the enemy, the mother sidesteps responsibility for the denial; it is not she who refuses the baby but an outside agency potentially harmful to them both.

Corporal punishment of any sort is seldom used on Papago children under five. Slapping is not employed, but families with training in white ways sometimes spank their babies; it is more frequent in the more acculturated eastern districts. One widowed mother who worked at a post silenced her howling three-year-old by plunging her into a bucket of cold water and scrubbing her roughly from head to foot, scolding all the time, "I guess you are too hot, too hot in the head. Maybe this will cool you off!" Probably if the child had been at home, she would have received at most a scolding.

THE BABY AND HIS FAMILY

At least until the time of weaning, his mother is the child's chief source of pleasure and blame. As long as he is a "child" (i.e., under twelve years), he is fundamentally her charge and her responsibility. After weaning, the child is not so constantly with his mother as before, but she is usually near by to help or console him. The importance of the mother-child relationship is very clear to the Papago, as they frequently indicate: members of a family who are approached for interviews about a child will say, "You will have to talk to his mother"; when a baby cries at a fiesta, the bystanders ask, "Where is his mother?"

Although the mother-child relationship is of greatest importance to the

7. Among the Sioux, crying babies are sometimes hushed by being told that a white person will get them (see Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors without Weapons*, p. 128). In the incident just described, the presence of a white person prevented such a threat, if the mother had been in the habit of using it.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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868 fields during planting or harvest, they doubtless learn something of agricultural procedures. However, a few boys who are exceptionally large and strong have a regular share of the farm work by the time they are ten.

The precise age at which a boy or girl begins to assume regular duties varies according to his own inclination and the family situation. The Papago believe that, just as the baby learns to walk and talk when he is ready, the older child will learn to work and need not be mercilessly prodded. Some families who feel that their children should become industrious at an early age carry on the training more intensively. Others are impelled to do so by the need for additional help in a short-handed household.

● 861 Characteristically, Papago children learn mainly by imitation, without explanation by adults and without asking many questions. As mentioned in chapter i, direct question and answer is not the Papago way of acquiring or giving information; hence the Papago child is not encouraged to ask how to do things. For example, in learning to cook, the little girl tries to do what she has seen her mother doing. Adults give little, if any, assistance to the novice, but they watch her closely and make it clear that they are pleased if she succeeds. Direct praise, however, is seldom given.

[885] Though the Papago do not tell the child *how* to do things, they explain at length *why* he should do them. They impress upon him that only by willing obedience can he become an honest, industrious, and kind man—the sort of person who is respected in Papago society. To get a child to do as they wish, parents say that they "just talk to him, and he does it." If he fails to comply, they lecture him further, tell him people will think he is lazy, or "talk hard" (scold). Beyond this, most parents say that they "do nothing." One mother expressed some irritation by saying, "What can I do? He runs away in the brush!" Such behavior provokes adults to momentary exasperation, but continued evasion does not heap adverse judgment on the guilty one or cause his parents alarm; he is still a child, and his disobedience is excusable on that basis. The most adults do to remind him of his shortcomings is to contrast his behavior with another child's: "Dorothy is good help all the time. Even if she's smaller, she's better help than Helen. I don't know why Helen doesn't like housework." By and large, however, children do their share of the work and do it without much pressure.

PLAY ACTIVITIES

857 As he nears ten, the Papago child's leisure time gradually decreases, for the increasing number of younger children pushes him more and more into a supervisory role. Though he begins to be a working member of the family

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rights to the child's affection or obedience. Just as there is no heavy emphasis on any one individual, there is also no individual who must be treated according to a unique set of rules (such as mother-in-law avoidance or the special relationships of nephew and maternal uncle which obtain in some societies). Though a child often feels no special intimacy with any one person in the household, he may cultivate such a relationship with whomever he pleases. 183 593 602

A second noteworthy fact is that the rules for behavior in the household are applicable to relationships with other Papago. It is assumed that a child's personal contacts will be with blood relatives, whether in his own or another village, and for the most part they are. Furthermore, the pattern of mild domination by the elders, tempered by careful consideration of each individual's opinion, persists in the larger affairs of village, district, and tribe. It is true that, in the recent development of district and tribal councils, the need for knowledge of English and of white ways has increased the status of young men and women with schooling. In the household and in local affairs involving only Papago, however, the old pattern still prevails.

The survey of Papago's interpersonal relationships has shown that there is no abrupt break between juvenile and adult life; there is no period of training, the end of which signals absolute maturity or heralds the sudden assumption of full adult responsibilities. There are no separate rules for the conduct of or toward youngsters. 183 584

The indulgence granted to young children may appear to contradict the above statements. But this indulgence may be regarded simply as an exaggerated respect for the child-individual's opinion. Because his rational faculties are as yet insufficiently developed and his training in group responsibility is in an embryonic stage at best, he must be humored in order to maintain peace within the family. As soon as, and to the extent that, he is capable of reasoning, the Papago spare no time or effort to work him into his proper position within the group, i.e., one individual with the right to a voice in and, ultimately, the approval of the course of concerted action. 183

By the time a Papago has reached biological maturity, he has, in general, accepted his role completely. He has achieved a neat balance between self-gratification and group consciousness, whereby he molds his personal desires into forms acceptable to the whole group.

It should be reiterated that no Papago child learns proper behavior by memorizing rules. He is told that a good man is one who is honest and industrious, kind and peaceful, but he eventually gains a reputation for industry only if he heeds the words of his elders—beginning with requests to bring in wood or tend the baby. It is equally certain that he can maintain peace with 183 84

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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183 his fellow-men and become known as a kind person only if he at all times
861 respects the wishes of others, particularly those over whom he holds a superior position by reason of his sex or age.

155 Yet the machinery which impels the Papago to be peaceful, honest, and
183 industrious is obscure. The dearth of punishment in child-training has been noted. Beginning in the second period of development, five to ten years, children are given ever increasing duties to perform. These tasks demand considerable time, often interrupt play, and are usually uninteresting. Yet parents have little difficulty in getting youngsters to work. The recalcitrant child is lectured or scolded; if he still refuses to obey, he is not ordinarily either compelled or punished.

Why does the Papago child usually accept responsibility without compulsion? Why, as an adult, with the personal freedom he enjoys, is he willing to subordinate his own desires in most matters to the will of the group?

First of all, the very early age at which training is begun is significant. Tots less than four years old are not infrequently given small tasks, and even at this time they are impressed with their responsibility for their younger siblings. This share-the-work program is begun early and maintained so continuously that it seldom fails to be effective. Among the Papago, children learn to work almost as soon as they learn to play; the happy childhood so much desired by adults for their children does not mean an utterly irresponsible one.

626 The second factor in the molding of Papago personality is one usually
183 present in simple societies: public opinion censures those who deviate from accepted standards of conduct. In any community so small that all the members
155 and their affairs are known to one another, this is a powerful force. Among the Papago there are almost no conventionalized variations from the normal behavior pattern; the guiding principles apply to everyone. No man can ignore them because of his wealth, position as village leader, or special skill. Rather such a man normally obscures his particular superiority and conducts himself in a manner hardly distinguishable from his average fellow-man. Personal achievement directed toward ostentatious self-gain is severely criticized by the Papago; the person who is outstanding in any way must maintain a modesty about his accomplishment that amounts almost to depreciation. At all times a Papago avoids drawing attention to himself and is embarrassed if he fails, for any person, child or adult, is ridiculed and criticized for conspicuous behavior. The facts that failure to perform in a socially approved manner will inevitably become common knowledge and that general censure is sure to follow constitute a powerful deterrent to breaking the mores.

Third, supernatural sanctions tend to enforce the Papago's sense of respon-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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153 about occasions of anger. The question about occasions when a child has been ashamed is usually felt to be quite intimate, because it demands the admission of situations in which the individual must present himself at a disadvantage. It is therefore understandable that Papago children, those of the other Indian tribes studied, and white children from a midwestern town all showed a noticeable reserve in their responses to this question.

In so far as Papago children admit anger, it is most frequently provoked by the aggressive or inconsiderate behavior of others (e.g., "I was angry when John hit me" or "I was angry when Mary threw my doll into the fire"). This reaction is not greatly different from that of the other Indian and white children who were asked the same test question (see Table 8). If, however, we single out the resentment of clearly physical or verbal aggression as it appears in all "negative" emotional categories of the test, we find that in all the Indian tribes studied this type of aggression plays a much more important role than among white children. The Papago are near the lower end of the scale, and we have evidence from their behavior that aggression is relatively infrequent among them. We may, however, assume that they are more conscious of aggression and perhaps at the same time more vulnerable in this respect than white children.

153 865 178 Awareness of and avoidance of aggressive behavior has always been an essential part of Papago child-training (see chap. ix) as a protective device against the disintegration of the group. Even reactive anger, though justified, should not be admitted. Actual admission of anger by about twice as many eastern as western Papago children is probably a symptom of partial disintegration of the old standards; the code of behavior is breaking down disproportionately to the vulnerability maintained. Open criticism of bad behavior in school and the equally open condemnation of sinful behavior by various missionary methods of education are likely to justify admission of reactive angry feelings more readily than the indirect Papago methods of criticism—joking, teasing, and avoidance.

153 861 Another unpleasant experience which is remembered by Papago children more often than by white children is the discipline received from adults in the form of punishments and reprimands. The Papago usually discipline their children not by corporal punishments or withholding affection or favors but by exhortations, joking, or teasing. Final compulsion to desirable behavior lies in the exemplary conduct of other members of the family group, in praise, in the approval granted by the neighbors, and in the generally acknowledged relative authority of the man over the women and of the older over the younger.